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# THE LOST CHILD.

## AGE AND GENDER IN RITUAL IN SOUTHERN SPAIN

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### **Abstract**

In the study of ritual, children have been largely ignored. Based on a case study of children's participation in the Holy Week processions in Southern Spain, we show how children's input in religious rites has recently increased due to children's changing position in Spanish and Andalusian society. We use this case to argue for the need to pay closer and more systematic attention to children in religious and ritual studies. We claim that by understanding the instrumental and expressive participation of children in religious rites, we may gain more insight into the working and effects of ritual. Children's participation secures the transmission of cultural knowledge, values and social identities, children's characteristics facilitate the use of them as key symbols and children's active agency may increase the effect of ritual and facilitate changes in the performance and meaning of ritual.

### **Introduction**

The invitational poster to the Holy Week celebration in the Spanish town of Antequera of 2011 depicts a *campanillero de lujo*, a 'luxurious little bell bearer' dressed in a sumptuous, gold-embroidered purple velvet gown, matching wide headdress, fine lace bow tie and cuffs, and carrying a bell. This sweet image of a child contrasts sharply with the standard images of a thorn-crowned, flagellated, cross-bearing or crucified Christ, or a mourning and sorrowful Mary that Andalusian towns use to announce this yearly event. The exceptional poster seems to set a new trend to focus on children in the public presentation of the Holy Week rituals. A year later another child appears on a poster, this time a serious and withdrawn looking youngster in a far more sober dress. The neighboring town of Archidona presents three children on its poster. In 2013, we see posters with two small children and the cross-bearing-Christ in Malaga, and one of the statue of the Infant Jesus in Antequera. This growing presence of children on posters in fact reflects a growing share of children in this ritual complex which we are eager to explore.

In this article, we will analyze the place of children in the rituals of the *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) of Antequera and neighboring Spanish towns. This is done not only to understand the shifting role of children in these religious practices, but also to open a discussion on the necessity to incorporate children better in ritual studies and to propose some ways of doing so. We use the general category of ‘children’ in a broad sense from babies to adolescents, but age-specific terms will be used when a particular stage in childhood is concerned. We will show how children’s ritual roles change when they grow up and how this intersects with gender. What place do children of different ages and genders take in these highly popular and socially important religious rituals in Southern Spain, and how and why is this changing? What place has been given to children in the anthropological approach of ritual? How can the understanding of ritual be improved by including children? We will analyze the multi-layered meanings given to children’s ritual participation and connect them to a general change in children’s position in Spanish society due to socio-economic developments, altered gender relations and a decreasing birth rate. We will argue on the basis of this material that attention for children in ritual studies is relevant on three levels: First, children’s participation secures the transmission of cultural knowledge, values and social identities. Secondly, the qualities attributed to young children, such as innocence and purity, facilitate the use of them as ritual key symbols. Thirdly, children’s active agency, developing when they grow older, may increase the effect of ritual and facilitate changes in the performance and meaning of ritual.

This research is based on several periods of ethnographic fieldwork in Andalusia, Southern Spain, in both rural and urban locations. The first and longest period of fieldwork took place in 1977-1978 and the last in March-April 2013. We observed the Holy Week processions six times, in 1977, 1978, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013. Most data for this article were collected during the Holy Week in Antequera in 2013, by observation of the rituals, combined with about seventy informal interviews and systematic small talk -- according to the method laid out in Driessen & Jansen (2013a)-- with participants and onlookers. Moreover, we analyzed exhibitions organized by brotherhoods in churches, televised events and DVD-registrations of the rituals in 2006, 2007 and 2008,<sup>1</sup> posters, promotional material, historical booklets provided by the brotherhoods and information on the Internet. This article is part of a series of publications on gender and ritual in Spain. The transition of women from audience to full membership in the Holy Week brotherhoods was discussed in Jansen and Driessen (2013) and the multiple forms of masculinity exhibited during the processions in Driessen and Jansen

(2013b). Here we will focus on the participation of children, both as passive and active actors in the Holy Week ritual.

### **The ceremonial stage**

Antequera is a town of 46,000 inhabitants, 47 km north of Malaga.<sup>2</sup> Sitting largely on a hill top, the town dominates a fertile valley, the so-called *vega*. Agriculture is still the mainstay of the local economy. Being close to the Mediterranean beaches and airport of Malaga, international tourism has become an important source of income as well. A Moorish castle, rich cultural and religious heritage, spectacular views over the countryside, and Holy Week festivities are among the main tourist attractions.

The Holy Week celebrations found in most Andalusian towns differ significantly in quality, intensity, development and meaning (Briones Gómez 1983, 1999). In Antequera, nine *cofradías*, religious ‘brotherhoods’ or confraternities, united under the umbrella organization *Agrupación de Cofradías de Antequera*, organize a series of processions the week before Easter. The capture, torture, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus is staged by carrying floats, called *pasos* or *tronos* (thrones), with statues representing the Passion through the streets of the town. The processions take four to seven hours each, with the exception of the Easter procession which is finished in two hours. Each procession is preceded by a mass and/or an *armadilla*, a march of the musical bands and the ritual participants to the church where the richly decorated thrones of that particular group are waiting to be taken out. The week starts with the Pollinica on Palm Sunday, celebrating Christ’s entrance in Jerusalem, continues with processions on Monday through Thursday, finds its zenith on Good Friday when the two oldest groups perform, and ends on Easter Sunday with the procession of the Resurrected Christ carried out by representatives of all groups.

Membership in religious confraternities and active or passive participation in their ceremonies are crucial for the town’s social fabric, expressing social cohesion as well as local tensions and hierarchies. The word *cofradía* (brotherhood) reflects that historically they were predominantly male organizations, but in the last decades women have gained a more active role as members or officials. Backed by the women’s movement, women demanded a larger space in the public domain. Their increased earning power enabled them to pay for their own membership and that of their children, and thus make their own decisions on which group to join. Some *cofradías* were slow in accepting female members, while others welcomed them as a new human and financial resource (Jansen & Driessen 2013). Throughout the year,

preparatory activities are organized. The members identify strongly with their own *cofradía* or *hermandad*. All *cofradías* have more than one throne, but one sacred image is singled out as key identity marker. People exhibit their loyalty by wearing identifying pins, colored ribbons or jewels. Reproductions of the icon are displayed in people's houses and on their grave. In their verbal expressions they show their emotional ties by speaking of them as *my Virgin* or *my Jesus*, and by talking of them as 'the most beautiful' or 'I like this one the best.' In common speech the long names of the *cofradías* are not used, but quick identification takes place by one-word epithets, a custom we will follow in this article. A man, woman or child belongs to Socorro, Paz, Consuelo, Dolores, Soledad (all personifications of Mary); is of Rescate or Mayor Dolor (personifications of the suffering Christ) or of Estudiantes and Pollinica.<sup>3</sup> In gender terms it is significant that Mary is singled out more often than Jesus, despite the fact that all groups have a Christ figure and that the clergy continuously tries to direct the people's attention to the suffering of Christ. It is Mary to whom people in folk religion feel closest (Hermkens *et al.* 2009, Jansen 2012: 7).

Unique to Antequera and a source of local pride and joyful distinction with other towns is the ritual element called *correr la vega*. It takes place after midnight towards the end of four processions when the carriers and their floats, preceded by youngsters and followed by a cross section of the local population, run up the steep inclines of the town.<sup>4</sup> The name of this rite is a puzzle as its literal translation is 'running the plain'. When we asked for clarification, many people shrugged or said that it was just the traditional name. Others explained that they run up the hill with the Virgin so that she can bless the fertile plains from above and, in doing so, secure another year of fertility and prosperity. A less common but more plausible explanation is that this name and the performance, in which the carriers raise their carrying sticks as swords in an attack, is a re-enactment of the Christian victory battle during the Reconquest over the Muslims in 1410. On that occasion also a statue of the Virgin Mary was carried along when the Christians stormed towards the castle on the hill top and shouted *a la vega! a la vega!*, 'to the battlefield!', 'to the battlefield!' Or, in the interpretation of Andalusian anthropologist Moreno Navarro (2010: 53) to chase them out of the fortress into the plain (*vega*). Seen in this light it was an interesting paradox to observe in 2013 that the Socorro confraternity had hired for musical accompaniment a regiment of the 'Indigenous Regular Forces', volunteer units of the Spanish Army recruited in former Spanish Morocco. Many of the recruits from the two Spanish enclaves in Morocco are born Muslim. Their task was to sweep the street clean of running youngsters before each throne. Their red fez, flying capes, rhythmic drums and armed presence contributed to the highly charged turmoil and the

ambiance of a battlefield. Only this time the Christians and Muslims were running together to bring the Virgin safely to the hill top.

The *vega* is an intensified moment of celebration of shared local identity and belonging. Watching and taking pictures of the running crowd coming to a halt where we stood, one exhausted woman embraced us in exhilaration and exclaimed “Isn’t this wonderful? This is so much better than the Macarena, isn’t it?” In doing so, she drew us into the emotional sphere of communal ecstasy, but also positioned this event in her town as more important than the most famous Holy Week procession, that of the Macarena in Andalusia’s capital city Seville. The strong sense of *communitas* (Turner 1967: 129) was also expressed by the expectation that everyone would help in keeping the saint in the air if its carriers would stumble or fall. As one woman of the Socorro said: “The Virgin never falls. Yes, the carriers sometimes fall, but bystanders will immediately take over the Virgin. Everyone knows that this is their duty.” *Correr la vega* reinforces social group cohesion as it exacts considerable physical energy and coordination of the carriers to run their heavy load up the steep hills, cheered on by the onlookers. Internal hierarchies, for instance between the throne leaders dressed in richly gold-embroidered velvet tunics and the *hermanacos*, the hard-laboring carriers, are temporarily suspended when the leaders take off their heavy tunics and become similar to the carriers who tuck the hems of their tunics under their belts for unhampered running.

At the same time, a conflictive, hierarchical undercurrent comes to the fore in the *vega* performance, in particular the competition between those of *Arriba* (the people living on top of the hill and joined around Socorro) and those of *Abajo* (the ones living half way up and joined around Paz) (Moreno Navarro 2010: 49). We will describe below how in this uniting and simultaneously dividing ritual, children as symbol or agent play important roles.

Another element that brings together large crowds of all ages, but in particular boys in their teens, is the *Traslado* on Wednesday afternoon when a group of Spanish legionnaires procession the ‘Christ of Major Suffering’ (*Cristo de Mayor Dolor*), a hyperrealistic image of a tortured and bleeding Jesus on his knees. Elsewhere, we have shown for Málaga how the Spanish legionnaires compare their fierce readiness for heroic masculine sacrifice with that of Christ of the Good Death and present a colorful and captivating show of hyper-masculinity during the Semana Santa, but also how their military participation is contested (see Driessen & Jansen 2013b). In Antequera, just like Málaga, legionnaires are welcomed exuberantly with cheers, applause, and showers of flower petals.

In all parts of the Holy Week celebration, children from babies to near adults are present. What are their roles and how do these develop when they grow up? Are there separate ritual domains for children and youngsters, or do they participate as ‘little adults’ (cf. Ariès 1960) in the processions of the grown-ups? Before answering these questions, we will first review ritual studies for what has been said about the children’s and youngsters roles and how our analysis could be relevant in a wider debate on children and youngsters in ritual.

### **The lost children in the anthropological study of ritual**

Louise Sweet (1969: 237) claimed that watching children at play is one of the best ways of “deepening the researcher’s appreciation of the villagers’ life.” Despite this good advice, several anthropologists have noted the limited anthropological interest in children. Hardman (2001) wondered whether there could be an anthropology of children. Caputo (1995) classified children under “anthropology’s silent ‘Others’”, while Lawrence Hirshfeld half-mockingly exclaims “Why don’t anthropologists like children?” (Hirschfeld 2002). What these scholars criticize is not so much the neglect of children in anthropology but a failure to consider them as relevant cultural and social agents. To be sure, many monographs included a paragraph on child care and children’s education, and some anthropologists have devoted full studies to children or youngsters (e.g. Mead 1928). But with some exceptions, the focus has been on the education of children, on the practices of child care and training in the home (e.g. Briggs 1998). In the early 1990s a Royal Anthropological Institute seminar on ‘Children as social actors’ was held. Benthall (1992: 1) concluded that this conference “gave evidence of both theoretical innovations – refusing to see children as empty buckets filling up with culture -- and of responsiveness to the many questions of children's welfare and rights which are so much in the news. One theme in the seminar was discourse about children, the categorization to which children, like everyone else, are subject.” Holmes followed this new interest in children with a book on fieldwork with children (Holmes 1998), also pointing out the scarcity of field studies with child participants.

Unfortunately, this new call for seeing the discursive or symbolic role of children, or understanding them as social actors has not yet fully materialized in ritual studies or the anthropology of religion. A review of the *Journal of Ritual Studies* shows that only two articles were published with an explicit focus on the role of children in ritual, both on adolescent rites of passage (Foley 1993; Turner 1995). This reflects the fascination anthropologists have shown after Van Gennep’s (1960, orig. 1909) *The Rites of Passage*, in

initiation rites marking the social and psychological transformation from children into adults (e.g. Richards 1956, Whiting, Kluckhohn & Anthony 1958, Young 1965). This classical book had such a strong impact that for a long time anthropologists tended to conflate ritual with rite of passage, and as the latter were often concerned with passage from childhood into adulthood, not young age but old age rituals were considered to be absent in ritual studies or in need of systematic study (Hinnant 1986, Myerhoff 1984).

In books on the anthropology of religion, children seldom figure as religious agents (e.g. Eller 2007). If they are mentioned at all, it is in the context of their parents seeking healing for infertility or when praying for offspring. An exception is Bowie (2000), who discusses Robert Brain's (1970) account of child witches among the Bangwa in Anglophone Cameroon. Bonnet (2012), discussing how since the 1990s also French ethnologists showed that children can be actors and leaders in rituals, referred in this context to the children's roles in possession cults as described by Duchesne (2007) for Ivory Coast and Jonckers (2007) in Mali in the volume edited by Bonnet & Pourchez (2007), or Pygmy children filmed by Alain Epelboin which all show that children "take part in offerings, bloody sacrifices, divination, dances and singing".<sup>5</sup> An anthropology of children in ritual is still in the making. This article fits into this trend to recognize, research, and theorize children as cultural agents.

What we therefore aim to criticize is not so much a total neglect of children in anthropology, but the absence of a model to include them in religious or ritual studies, as well as the lagging behind of a full consideration of them as relevant cultural and social agents. We have therefore looked at how children of different ages and gender learn and embody culture by playing ritual roles, resist and transform culture through disruptive acts or contested performances, as well as how children are categorized or spoken about by turning them into symbols loaded with complex meanings. Moreover, we asked children of various ages and genders for their reasons to participate in the Holy Week rituals, whether this was linked to their parents' or peers' participation, and what was attractive for them. In particular the adolescents fulfilling leadership positions were interviewed on their reasons for doing so. On the basis of this case we present a tentative model for including children in ritual studies.

Research by other scholars on children exposed methodological issues that we also were confronted with during our fieldwork. One is the problem of informed consent. As they are still immature and under age, parents need to be informed about the research, a specific form of informed consent. Olga Nieuwenhuys, who set out to discover working children's lifeworlds in Kerala, India, indicated how difficult that could be as their parents "profoundly distrusted the childless white woman I then was" and that "adults were in general hardly



convinced of the relevance of my work.” (Nieuwenhuys 1994: 5). According to Benthall (1992:1), Rabain (1979) reported a similar experience among the Wolof of Senegal, where the adults were surprised with her neglect of adult conversation in favor of following the children’s play. Cross-culturally, children’s affairs are considered less important than those of adults.

Whenever possible, we informed adults or parents with children about our research. Most were surprised about the topic and tried to point out other, in their view more interesting and relevant information about the Semana Santa. Yet, our attention for their children was considered less strange when the parents had dressed them in ritual outfits. In those cases they invited us to photograph them and were proud to show them in their carefully pressed, lovingly sewn and embroidered tunics. One mother proudly held up her nine months old toddler to us saying “This is his first *salida*.” His father, dressed in exactly the same blue tunic of a carrier, and wearing the same gold dragonfly pin to hold his white head cover in place, came to kiss his child and tell him how beautiful and lovely he was at his first ‘coming out’. The Holy Week is show time, where dressed-up children represent the pride, wealth and identity of their parents. This facilitated speaking with the parents about their children’s ritual participation. When parents were not around, we felt at times hesitant to approach children, afraid their parents might not like this attention from strange adults and suspect other motives.

Parental approval did not necessarily ease the communication between us and smaller children. It was often difficult to break through the shyness and reluctance of young children to talk to these elderly foreigners asking strange questions with a quaint accent. Luckily adolescents carrying out specific functions in the celebrations were easier to approach. Being assigned the task of welcoming visitors during the exhibition of the floats preceding the processions, they stood, formally dressed, in the entrance of the church to collect money, sell ribbons or memorabilia and answer anyone’s questions.

## **Children on the ritual stage**

### *Active performers*

Depending on age, there are different roles for children as actors in the Holy Week celebrations. The youngest group, from about 2 tot 10 years of age, enjoys most the festive procession of La Pollinica on Palm Sunday, which commemorates Jesus’ entrance in Jerusalem, his praying in the garden of olives, and the Virgin of Consolation and Hope. In Antequera, on the *paso* with Jesus on his donkey there is also a waving child on its mother’s

lap. In Salamanca, the Pollinica's main sacred image is Jesus Friend of Children, depicted with a child sitting with him on his donkey.<sup>6</sup> The Pollinica procession is held in the day time and lasts not as long as the others. The huge number of participating children makes that the Pollinica is generally considered a children's procession, not just in Antequera but also in other Andalusian and Spanish towns. But children and youngsters participate in all other processions as well, sometimes under the guidance of a special child officer, usually a woman, who teaches them the protocol and corrects them when necessary. Others are accompanied by their parents who take them home when they get too tired.

Children can be seen in all kinds of roles. A little boy in its pram may be dressed up as *hermanaco*, a miniature 'carrier of a throne' mimicking his father. Little girls of kindergarten-age appear with a *mantilla*, an off-white lace veil over a high comb on their head, similar to the black ones their older sisters and mother may wear during the evening processions. Somewhat older children come dressed up as *monaguillo*, altar boy or girl in black or red tunic and white laced frock; as *hebreo*, Jewish child in striped tunic and headdress; as *angel*, in angelic white gown with pastel colored sash and carrying a palm; or more fiercely as *roman soldier* with sword and helmet. From age eight and up they can perform as *penitente* or *nazareno*, dressed in a long, buttoned penitent's dress plus cape and pointed hood with face cover in the colors of their group. As such they assume an adult role, as the all-covering garb and hood disguises their age and only a smaller body form betrays them. This role is particularly preferred by teenage girls, who often participate with groups of friends. Eight-year old Laura announced to her mother that she wanted to walk in the Socorro procession with her friends. Her mother, who was not a member, made her a *nazareno* outfit, but did not pay a membership fee. As Laura and her friends participated for the first time, they decided not to wear the pointed hood yet, as they wanted to be recognized by the onlookers. Other open faced line-ups consist of children wearing a simplified copy of the garb of the throne leaders. A few lucky ones can wear the colorful tunic of *acólito* or the costly outfit of *campanillero* or assistant throne leader. In some processions teenage officials, dressed in a suit, walk together with the adult public dignitaries.

At the age of eight to ten, participation starts to diverge according to gender. While groups of girls organize to walk together in the adult *nazareno* outfit, most boys become less interested in dressing up. At around age 14, boys hang around as distant observers who shyly ogle the girls in the courtyards where everyone gets ready for the procession and admire the carriers of the throne for their masculine strength. A few years older, they can be seen flirting with their costumed girlfriend. At age sixteen to eighteen some get involved again, to take

over their father's or brother's role as *hermanaco*, carrier of the throne, because of a promise to God or a friend, to show off their masculine strength, or to be part of a respected group.

#### *Active members of the audience*

Ritual performances need, of course, an audience, and also here children and youngsters are present and active. Young children of kindergarten and primary school age line the streets to collect drops of wax from the *nazareno*'s candles, to shake hands with the performers or wave at them. In between, they play games with each other until the next float arrives. Four-year old boys mimic the militaristic steps and handling of guns of the military groups that accompany some floats. Some lucky ones are dressed in a miniature legionnaire outfit. The *Traslado* by the legionnaires on Wednesday afternoon draws a large crowd of youngsters. Teenage boys are impressed by the military show, some walk along with the legionnaires, as if wanting to be part of them and share in the applause and honor, others sing along with their anthem. I-phones and tablets are all around to photograph or make selfies with the soldiers or the mascotte billy-goat. A few young boys proudly wave the legionnaires flag and other memorabilia they have gotten their hands on.

#### *Procession of the small thrones*

A miniature version of the event is the Procession of Small Thrones, held the second Saturday after Easter. Initiated by the Cofradía de los Estudiantes in 1998, it was followed up by schools, families or other groups. Groups of neatly dressed boys or girls, in single or mixed gender groups, carry small images of Christ, Mary or the Saints through the town, accompanied by the sound of processional music. They play-act the official adult procession by performing the roles of carriers, altar boys and girls, guardia civil, romans, standard bearers and mantilla women. Only *nazarenos*, the penitents in colored gowns and pointed hoods so characteristic of the Spanish Holy Week, are absent. Over the years, the miniature floats multiplied. Since 2000, new floats tended to be more refined and more professional as a craftsman made seven miniature copies of the mayor *pasos* to be carried by four to fourteen children.<sup>7</sup> The children wear school uniforms or a set of black trousers, white blouse and bright green sash, the colors of the Estudiantes.<sup>8</sup> The floats are carried by different age groups, ranging from kindergarten children, whose parents regularly have to take over the load, to secondary school groups. The size and weight of the float are adapted to their age.

The relatively recent trend to have a separate children's procession is not restricted to Antequera. All over the provinces of Malaga, Cordoba and Jaén we find versions of it. It

prepares children for a proper adult role in the Holy Week celebrations, initiates them into the community, and at the same time keeps children from influencing the adult ceremonies too much, as too many untrained children in the large processions could lead to disturbances and a decline of status, prestige and ceremony.

### *Increased ritual participation of children*

The initiative to set up special Holy Week replica's for children is indicative of the growing presence of children in rituals since the 1970s. In another article, we have demonstrated the significant growth of ceremonial life in Andalusia over the past four decades and shown this to be connected to the economic growth accelerated by Spain's entry into the European Union, the EU support for cultural associations, democratization processes and changing gender relations as well as a more self-conscious stress on local identity in the face of growing globalization (Driessen & Jansen 2013b, Jansen & Driessen 2013). All these aspects have also increased the participation of children. Higher family incomes, exacerbated by the gainful employment of women, itself part of the women's emancipation movement, make that parents can more easily afford to buy costumes for their children and pay their membership fees. Women themselves have become more and more active members of 'brotherhoods', performing on the streets rather than taking care of the preparatory work at home or functioning solely as an audience. Now mothers and children jointly partake in the performance.

Children in turn have become more and more precious. The total fertility rate diminished from 2.65 in 1977 to 1.36 in 2012, Spain having the second lowest fertility rate in Europe.<sup>9</sup> As a result, children are doted on more than ever. The last few years, however, the bank and construction crisis has led to a persistent economic recession. People complained about the high ritual costs and some withdrew as members or left town during the festivities when they became unemployed and could no longer afford the costs of participating. To an outsider these effects are as of yet hardly noticeable.

By participating and watching year after year, children learn the cultural codes and the social behavior connected to rituals. They feel the cohesive sentiment, obtain a sense of tradition, and build memories of a magic and ludic spectacle. It is a passionate, festive, organized chaos that allows children either to become part of it as a performer or onlooker, and for the older ones to escape the watchful eyes of parents. It is fun and this facilitates the transmission of values and social identities. This function of ritual is the first reason why children should be noted in the study of ritual, as we will explore below.

## Learning culture

By actively acting as performers in the ritual, cultural knowledge and appropriate behavior is transmitted to the young generations. Certain characteristics of rituals make them the perfect vehicle for imbuing cultural ways of thinking and doing in children. Rituals are repetitive acts, following a set order, accompanied by set phrases and intended to convey specific emotions. Many parents know, for instance, that children sleep more easily when preceded by a fixed sequence of acts of undressing, washing, brushing teeth, and listening to a bedside story. By ritualization, children more easily learn cultural practices, words, emotions, values and norms.

Starting from an early age on, children and youngsters are gently coaxed into proper ritual behavior, thus learning in a playful manner the embodied performances of the adults as well as socially valuable types of self-control, such as stay in line, not giggle or shout, have patience, stay awake, take care of valuables, or pay attention to others. Participating in processions actually is, in the words of Marcel Mauss, a ‘technique of the body’, a cultural practice that shapes and forms the body, but that, according to Mauss is also at the bottom of all mystical states (Mauss 1979: 122). Bateson and Mead (1942: 84) would have called it a form of ‘visual and kinaesthetic learning’, as, like the Balinese children who were taught how to dance, here Spanish children are being gently bodily corrected by adults to make the proper gestures. By ritual movement, by making repetitive bodily movements one’s spiritual emotions as well as one’s social position and cultural identity are embodied (Hermkens et al. 2009: 6; Jansen 2012: 6; Turner 1974: 312). As James (2004: 29-30) claimed, the role of mimesis, learning by doing, is very important. Dressing up and staging a performance gives ritual a playful element which equally increases the ease of learning (Handelman 1998). Myerhoff (1984: 305) stated that rituals “use presentational more than discursive symbols, so that one’s senses are stimulated and one is flooded with phenomenological proof of the symbolic reality that the ritual is portraying.” Rituals work on different sensory levels at once, bringing across the intended message strongly (Jansen 1997: 103, Parkin 1992; Seremetakis 1994; Sutton 2004: 95; Grimes et al 2011; Meltzer & Elsnor 2011).

In a similar way, rituals are also a technique to shape the mind, to acquire cultural and social knowledge. Only part of this is religious knowledge, information about the life and suffering of Jesus Christ and of the role of the main figures in the Holy Book. With Christmas, the Holy Week is a time especially meaningful for the oral and visual transmission

of religious values (Gonzalez Ortiz 2004). The floats with biblical figures and various representations of Mary and Jesus instill some religious knowledge in even the most non-believing, non-churchgoer. Also more secular cultural and social knowledge is conveyed. The demand for musical accompaniment has enabled many youngsters to join a band and learn to play music. Watching and enjoying the military spectacle prepares youngsters for the army. Seeing who belong to the dignitaries or give orders informs about the status hierarchies in the local community. Even for children it is easy to discern in the row of officials who are the power holders.

The cultural learning process through ritual is enhanced by multiple rewards. Barely out of the crib, toddlers in ritual clothes experience the positive reactions from their environment. They are kissed and told they are *guapa*, ‘beautiful’, by family, friends, and strangers. They are called to show themselves in their costumes, praised as being as strong or beautiful as their parents, and rewarded with sweets and toys. One child of about four in *hermanaco* dress was called with “Come, show yourself to your grandfather” who greeted him with “Oh, how lovely you are.” A young father said: “I myself am not a member, but my wife is. She is of the Estudiantes. Her whole family belongs to it, and so does my child. (Smiling proudly) I have a son of 10 months old and this is his first *salida*. [Are you paying the fees for your wife and son?] No, she works and she pays for both of them.” Thus children are made to feel that they belong – as part of a family.

Some years later they make plans with their peers to dress up together. Or they go out in *quadrillas/pandillas*, age groups, to roam the streets, have fun together, enjoy the music, and stay up late. They get their reward from their peers. They obtain a sense of belonging to a peer group. When acting out their ritual roles in the processions, they take in the admiring attention of the crowds along the route. By taking part in the ritual configuration, and embodying the culture that is being transmitted, the children are rewarded with the sense of belonging and being part of local society.

### *Learning social class*

Specific to the *Semana Santa* in Antequera, and source of local pride as the 2011 poster shows, is the role and costume of the *campanillero de lujo*, the ‘luxurious little bell bearer’. In its precious dress of gold-embroidered purple, black or green velvet, the *campanillero* precedes a throne and rings a bell when it starts to move. As such it is a miniature of the *hermano de insignia*, the throne master, who is equally richly dressed in gold-embroidered velvet, when leading the procession and marking the stops for the carriers by hitting the large

bell on each throne. The oldest brotherhoods Paz and Socorro have costly, antique specimens, Pollinica, Rescate, Consuelo and Dolores acquired them more recently.

As there are only a few of these tunics the brotherhoods have designed a rotation system of who can wear them. Children of the *hermano mayor* or another functionary from the commanding lineages (Barón-Ríos for Paz and Guerrero-Clavijo for Socorro), and who are about eight to ten years of age and have the proper size, have some privileges. Other members can put their children on a waiting list (Guerrero Fernandez 2013: 83). A storeowner belonging to the Socorro told that she had enlisted her child even before it was born, and her brother had made sure that her second child was put on the list immediately after birth. But the year the first son was accorded the right to wear it, she regretted it: “He got tired very quickly and I had to carry not only him but also that very heavy gown. It was exhausting.” The costumes of the little bell bearers are proudly exhibited with the other ritual paraphernalia in the chapels and churches on the days before the procession.

The rich materials of velvet and gold thread, plus the very labor intensive embroidery make these very costly items. Most people cannot give a price, they only say that it is “very expensive”. But two women in the service sector, after doing some calculation together, estimated that “the new gown of Mary costs € 30,000 so a smaller costume for a child easily costs between € 7,000 and € 8,000.” When we first saw the poster of a little bell bearer in 2011 on a window and asked a middle-aged female shopkeeper next door about it, she sniffed contemptuously and while making money-counting gestures with her fingers to indicate that this was only for the rich said: “These are the kids of the *hermano mayor*. They can walk in front.” She said that she herself was too busy with her shop and bar to participate and would see enough of the processions from her doorstep. Such remarks indicate that social class may intersect with religion and gender as to having an opportunity to participate.

The possibility to borrow and wear the most luxurious gowns is indeed reserved for the lucky children whose fathers or mothers hold high positions in society and/or the *cofradía*. A few children also have access because they belong to one of the few rich families who own a gown or whose (grand)mothers embroidered one. The Rescate only started to have little bell bearers six years ago when a mother embroidered the first gown for her son, a few years later a second one and now a third one. They are kept within the family and are not owned by the *cofradía*. Waiting for the Rescate to be brought out of the church, this young mother was very proud to show us her handiwork. While she carefully draped the tunic’s tail on the ground so that it could be properly photographed, she told that she had personally embroidered this outfit and had encouraged her friend to make one for her son who was now wearing it for the

first time. Unfortunately, the 4-year old child became so tired after an hour of waiting and being admired by numerous women that he had to be carried home. His 7-year old friend managed to stay awake long enough to participate in the first leg of the procession.

Given the limited number, the luxurious outlook and the high visibility of these gowns, we asked several parents whether their children had expressed a desire to wear one too or were jealous of the child who was selected to wear it. To our surprise, they reacted defiantly, saying that it was not a problem at all, that there were costumes enough for each child and if not they would make one themselves. The waiting list of candidates for wearing the antique and authentic ones that several brotherhoods maintain, and the urgency parents feel to put their offspring on the list, tells otherwise. It is an honor to be elected for this role, an honor which is limited to a happy few. But as far more parents want their children to participate they either go into high expenditures to make or buy a luxurious gown, or when they are of lesser means convince their children that a cheaper substitute of look-alike velvet trimmed with gold-colored bands will do as well. In either case, there is an acute awareness of the status-marking effect of the gown. Like the jewels on women or the livery on servants, on which Veblen (1899) based his theory of the leisure class, they are objects of conspicuous consumption by which families mark their class boundaries. While wearing them the children look innocent and adorable, but simultaneously they learn where they stand in society.

### *Learning gender*

Through rituals, participants embody what is socially and culturally important, including gender. Gender notions, dichotomies and hierarchies tend to be more explicit in rituals than in everyday life. Rituals foreground gender roles, attributes and identities expected from participants as is visualized in the window displays by Antequera's photographers of photographs of Holy Communion and weddings. Similarly, the Semana Santa abounds with gender scripts.

Weeping Mary's, *mantillas*, angel dresses, their mother's frantic preparations, aching feet in high-heeled shoes during long hours of procession, all show girls of different ages what it takes to be feminine. Little boys are allowed to play out their warrior-narratives as miniature Roman soldier or legionnaire while simultaneously being "introduced to the masculinity of rationality and responsibility" (Jordan & Cowan 2004: 113). Older boys can mirror themselves in the masculine strength of the carriers or show their physical qualities when running the *vegas*. Michael Murphy (1983) described the coming of age of boys in Seville, and in particular in the neighborhood of Macarena as a passage devoid of rites. In



doing so, he disregards the Holy Week events as fulfilling some of these functions. He does not explicitly mark the Holy Week as an initiation rite of boys into manhood. In our view, however, the rituals provide perfect venues for showing off masculine strength, endurance, ability to withstand pain, and responsibility. This interpretation follows our earlier observations in Spain that young men are trained in the expected qualities of manhood such as stamina, persistence, pain-control and ability to drink much alcohol (Driessen 1991, 1992, 2012). Especially in carrying and running with the heavy floats, boys can publicly show themselves to be men here, before the rite of marriage officially accords them this status. As we have shown elsewhere, various types of masculinity can be emulated, including gentrified masculinity and hyper-masculinity (Driessen & Jansen 2013b).

Gender scripts may not always be clear and unequivocal. Whereas some costumes help construct gender dichotomies, others, like the *penitente* costume, hide gender. When we first saw the poster of the little bell bearer on a short pre-visit to Antequera in 2011, we had assumed that it was a girl because of the long flowery dress and the fluffy lace cuffs and collar. After seeing pictures of adult bearded men in similar dress and finding out who the child was, we realized that our initial gender typing had been wrong.<sup>10</sup> To ‘read’ this gender script correctly, its intersection with historical class needed to be taken into account. The velvet, gold embroidery and lace worn by the *hermano mayor de insigna*, as well as Jesus and some of the saints, refers to a high status masculinity as expressed in the seventeenth century. At present, this gender meaning is more ambiguous. Gender markers are not fixed, but may change over time. But the exclusivity and high price that made this type of dress a masculine and elite prerogative in former times, still lingers on. Although statues of female saints are dressed in similar outfits, living adult women do not wear them. In all the processions, only adult men lead the thrones and wear the luxurious tunics of the *hermano mayor de insigna*.

The fact that the child on the poster and the bell bearers of Rescate are boys, seems to suggest that little boys wear the most precious costumes, while their mothers do the feminine work of embroidering them. But as we saw above, gender is more complicated. Although most of the little bell bearers are still boys, girls are no longer excluded from taking on this coveted ritual role. And gold embroidery, done in special artisan workshops in the region, is just as likely a male profession than a female one (Aguilar Majarón 2010).

The Holy Week outfits confuse and conflate gender also in other ways. The sex of the *nazarenos* remains hidden under their uniform costumes, and this standard apparel hides the increasing participation of women and of youngsters as participants in the ritual (Jansen & Driessen 2013). Although some *cofradías* are still resisting gender changes, women have

entered into former male roles. Children can see that at least some women possess enough strength to carry the throne. Rescate and Estudiantes now have some female carriers. It proves that strength is not restricted to masculine muscles any more. Also in the music bands girls of all ages have joined boys. Even the military groups, including the legionnaires, are no longer exclusively male. Finally, in the row of officials that follow the main throne, children now can observe that also women can access leadership roles.

### **The child as key symbol**

Adults tend to categorize young children as innocent, pure, authentic, not yet spoiled by knowledge or sexual desires. Such categorization allows for children who have not yet reached puberty to function as appropriate key-symbols for various socio-cultural domains.<sup>11</sup> This is enhanced by the loving emotions small children can evoke. Ritual performances and spectacles include staging affect and emotions, an involvement Spaniards often describe as “it gives me goose bumps”. Physical and emotional appeal is easily done with children, lovable creatures in themselves. Unlike adults, they reach the viewers on a pre-rational, pre-discursive and pre-reflexive level. Children can be considered as glue in the way cultures organize emotion, especially in low-birth-rate societies like Spain.

A recurring key symbol is the child as mediator between the ordinary and the supernatural. Many of the visionaries that reported to have received messages from Mary or other saintly persons were children, and exactly their innocence, their purity, was reason to consider them as true messengers of the words from heaven (Jansen & Notermans 2010: 76, Christian 1996: 4-6). During the Holy Week in Archidona, twenty kilometers east of Antequera, an angel in the form of a ten-year old child, sings from above to Jesus in the garden of olives about all the suffering that will await him.<sup>12</sup> The child can be a boy or a girl, but the boy’s voice should not yet be breaking and the girl should be untainted by any signs of puberty. As the music teacher, who trains and selects the angel told us: “We have set the maximum age at ten. Because older girls may already show breasts.” Young age and proper gender characteristics belonging to that age are therefore crucial to be allowed to play this role as heavenly messenger.

The ultimate model of an innocent child is of course the child Jesus. Images of baby Jesus are common objects of devotion placed in people’s homes or donated as *ex voto* in chapels when pleading for a blessing or divine support. Concern for their children can be one of the reasons why many *ex votos* take the shape of baby Jesus or an infant’s ribbon, shoes or

frock. The object underscores the promise (*promesa*) made to the supernatural. Such a promise, made when imploring God or the Virgin for the health of a beloved one or mercy for one's sins, can also be to carry a float or walk barefoot behind a throne during the Semana Santa. The Passion of Christ commemorated in the Holy Week is the antithesis of the new born Christ commemorated at Christmas. His mother Mary is not exhibited as a young mother with child, but as a sorrowful Mary mourning and grieving for her adult son. Yet, in folk practice, death and birth, grief and joy, old and young inextricably fuse. During the procession people will call out to her: *Mi Virgin* 'my Virgin', or *Mi Guapita*, 'my little beauty'. They join in yells '*Guapa, guapa, guapa!*' The mourning mother is thus attributed with the beauty, purity and innocence of a young girl.

#### *'El Niño Perdido'*: The case of the Lost Child in Antequera

In Antequera, as in a few other communities, a young child Jesus figures in the iconography of the processions. Paz carries a statue of a Child Jesus on one of its four floats: the so-called *Niño Perdido*, the Lost Child.<sup>13</sup> The name refers to the bible passage which tells how the twelve year old Jesus is lost when his family returns from the Passover festival in Jerusalem. The parents return to town to find him in the temple discussing with the teachers. The statue is that of a young boy, dressed in a velvet with gold embroidered tunic, carrying a cross in his right hand with which he pins down evil in the form of a snake on a globe. Its tunic was the predecessor and model for the luxurious little bell bearer in Antequera. According to local legend, the first time a child was hoisted in it, this occurred after Jesus was given a new one, enabling a child to wear the secondhand one (Guerrero Fernandez 2013). As if to further stress the renewed interest in children, not the dying Christ but *el Niño Perdido* walking barefoot in an Antequera street is figuring on the invitational Semana Santa poster of Paz in 2013.

The name 'the Lost Child' is also connected to a local legend explaining the historical antagonism between the inhabitants from 'Above' (Socorro) and those from 'Below' (Paz). One respondent told us, in answer to our question why exactly these two groups competed so much and were seen as each other's opponents: "They fight because once, when it rained very hard, a child went into the wrong church. They thought that the child was abducted on purpose, so they started fighting." Another person told a similar story about a child getting lost after running the *vegas*. Later on, we tried to have the story confirmed by an official from 'Above'. When we told him that we heard this story and asked him whether it was a child from Above or Below, he started laughing and exclaimed in playful exasperation: "You have

discovered everything already!” and then continued more seriously “It was a child from Above.” Then he continued to explain that there were in fact in the past two extended families who used to fight each other, but that now everything has cooled down and there is no enmity any more.

According to Moreno Navarro (2010: 49) the competition between the two largest lineages in town, Chacones and Narváez, started from the moment the Infante don Fernando took the town from the Muslims in 1410. Each lineage gathered a group of powerholders around them as well as religious orders, respectively the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and patronized the foundation of the *cofradiás de Arriba y Abajo* at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At present, mostly a symbolic and ritual dichotomy persists. The truce and peace established since between the two groups finds a ritual reflection during the *encuentro*, the ritual encounter and greeting of the two groups of floats in the central San Sebastian square on Friday evening at eleven thirty before the start of the *vegas*. Yet, according to Moreno Navarro, underneath, a ‘*pique*’ or irritation between *sebosos* (‘the greasy ones’) and *cochineros* (‘the filthy ones’) continues to simmer and occasionally flares up (Moreno Navarro 2010: 50). We suspect that apart from family enmity also political and class differences were involved here, with the poorer people living further up the steep hill and the well-to-do, who owned also a richer church closer to the town centre, below. The reaction of the above mentioned official indicates that it is considered an internal affair that better is forgotten and preferably kept out of view of outsiders.

The legend of the lost child is kept alive in the collective memory and retold. By calling both *El Niño Perdido*, the lost human child (symbol of antagonism) is conflated with the lost young Jesus (symbol of peace), but the latter triumphs each time that the statue leaves its sanctuary to be paraded through the streets.<sup>14</sup> It shows that a child can be a key symbol evoking the emotions involved in historical conflict and enmity as well as be a symbol of peace and reconciliation. For our proposal to include children more in the analysis of ritual the above example teaches us that both the potential of the child as key symbol and the fluid and ambiguous underlying meanings should be taken into account.

### **Children as agents of change in ritual**

Children are more than empty vessels to be filled, or untainted, pure key symbols to be adored in ritual. As Laura, they may act as independent agents. This affects not only their own position, as in when they decide for themselves when and where to join, but it can also affect

the ritual performance. To the question why he had chosen to become a member of a different group than his father, a twelve-year-old son of a mason said that he wanted to play music and his preferred group had the best band and youngest members. Membership is often hereditary, with traditionally fathers paying the fees for wife and children and nowadays sometimes the mother choosing and paying for the affiliation of the child, but increasingly children choose independently what group to join. When we asked why they had chosen a specific group, some youngsters said they followed their friends, others that they liked the saintly image, the good atmosphere or the band. This new independence seems to reflect the trend of changing power relationships between parents and children, in itself part of the general democratization process in Spanish society since the late 1970s.

### *Youngsters in charge*

Children's agency is most explicit when they take up official functions, usually around the age of sixteen. Some *cofradías* do not only open up membership or participation for children, but since about six years also have a youth council (*junta joven*). A 16-year old member of the youth council of San Pedro, said: "My parents are not members. I became a member on my own. [Why?] Because I love the image, yes it really is the most beautiful Mary. And for the good atmosphere." Meanwhile her friend showed us the Virgin on her mobile: "See, this is the prettiest Virgin." Rallying around a common cause and an image they can identify with in the good company of friends, prepares them for leadership roles in the future. The youth council of the Socorro, consisting of twenty members between 10 – 18 years old, was presided over by a 17-year old girl preparing for her secondary finals and planning to study economics. During the interview, she told that unlike some of her fellow members, she had been inspired by her parents who had taken her to the processions from a very young age. She was motivated to work in the youth board "by my belief and for the pleasure to bring out the saint, to show the saint to the people in the street." "Some of my friends, but also in my family there are people who do not understand why I put so much work in this. It is a lot of work, all year round. They do not understand the sentiment that I have for it. But they respect it, yes they respect it." Being member or president of a youth board enables them to gain experience in organizing, fundraising, directing tasks, communication and presentation. But this valuable experience is not immediately recognized as such: "No, I do not put this in my curriculum vitae, because it is no professional knowledge. People do not value this work." says the young president. When we told her that it is nevertheless a valuable experience, she agrees. She just never thought about it that way.

When we ask a young man of the directing board of La Pollinica whether they also have a youth board, he says: “No, we do not have a *junta joven*, although we do have young people in the *junta directiva*. We are planning, however, to install a youth board next year, because young people have the future.” Like the Pollinica, some other groups actively seek a sixteen year old to become a youth member of the adult board. Young council members are actively involved in organizational work, in particular for other youngsters. When asked about their tasks, they said that they organize informative meetings or lectures, welcome guests during the expositions, and do a host of chores like collecting money, selling religious memorabilia, or keeping the candles alight.

Young people also contribute in other ways. A fifteen-year-old boy painted Christ’s face on the cloth held by Veronica on the throne of the Nazareno of Socorro (*El Sol de Antequera*, 2013: 39). A new cloth is selected in competition every year and the winning cloth is exhibited in the brotherhood’s museum with those of previous years. Another young man was sixteen when he started to work as dresser (*vestidor*) for the Pollinica (idem: 55) and he was so good at it that he also was asked to perform this task in the towns of Casabermeja and Cuevas de San Marcos. Others are active in making miniature thrones for younger children or drawing their peers into the activities. Even more so than other young participants, these junior officials may have an effect on the rituals, increase the involvement of children and teens, and make sure that young voices are heard. As this process has only started some years ago, it is too early to say what the exact effect will be. Whereas the opportunity to formally enact agency and thus potentially contribute to both consolidation and change is only recently accorded to young people, their informal and disturbing agency has been felt much longer.

### *Children as disturbers of ritual*

Children may disturb rituals through boisterous or uncontrolled behavior when they are young, or provide a lively, disrespectful counterpoint to it when they reach their teens.<sup>15</sup> Such acts lie at the margin of the ritual, they are simultaneously an element that attracts the young to the ritual and a concern for some of the adults as it disrupts the solemn and religious intention of the ritual. In such contested ways of participation, children can actively shape culture as they would like to see it.

The *vegas* are a case in point. Youngsters massively participate in the *vegas* around or after midnight. Groups of friends, both mixed and single sex, come together half-way the evening at the bottom of the hill and prepare to run ahead of the floats. Excitement lies in both the physical challenge and competition as well as in the danger involved. Only fit people can

run all the way up and there is always the danger of injuries. Accidents occur regularly. An ambulance stands prepared halfway up the hill. In the preceding days, security guards have handed out leaflets with behavioral security rules. Youngsters are strongly advised not to make *cadenas*, human chains that may not only hurt others when one person falls but will also block the way for the carriers who come running with their throne. Parents are advised not to take their very young children to the *vegas*. Girls should not wear high heels and all should abstain from taking water bottles or other rolling objects that could make people fall. All such warnings make it only more exciting for young people to show off their youthful strength, courage and bravura.

The reasons for young people to participate in the Semana Santa are not necessarily all religious or solemn. We observed in Santaella that underneath the clothes or concealed in water jugs, but also openly, much alcohol is consumed. Bystanders were jokingly invited to ‘drink the blood of Christ’ while the water jug with wine was extended to them. At the end of the Friday procession this led to so much exuberant jostling with swaying floats and young people jumping to soccer yells, that the priest and more serious devotees stayed away from it (Jansen & Driessen 2013).<sup>16</sup>

Young people are allowed some exuberance and playfulness, especially because it enhances the festive character of the event. Yet, at the same time efforts are made to control the potential damage and to bring the young back on the right track. Priests and teachers actively try to incorporate them into the ritual on adult terms. In sermons, priests openly voice disapproval about certain conduct or show it by not participating in boisterous elements such as the *vegas*. The clergy objects in particular to the more popular aspects of the celebrations. In the sermon during the Easter mass preceding the procession of the Resurrection (which was cancelled later because of rain) the priest criticized the popular tendency to appropriate one’s saint and expressed his wish that by next year the listeners would no longer talk of ‘My Virgin’ or ‘My Jesus’ but of the ‘most venerable Holy Mary or Jesus Christ’. The education of young children in the proper ways, as in the Procession of the Small Thrones, is used as a strategy to turn the potential disturbers of the ceremonial order into perfect performers of the ritual and pure examples that should shame and silence any adult jokers. But young people do not let themselves so easily be pulled from the secular domain. For many it is just a time to meet, eat, drink and dance. At the same time as the Easter Vigil, the largest discothèque in town has organized a free dance-event. The last girl we asked whether she had walked in the processions reacted with disgust: “No way. I don’t like this Semana Santa at all!”

## Conclusion

What may we conclude from the case of children's participation in the Spanish Holy Week celebrations for the general question of how children's roles in ritual can be studied? Firstly, we have to realize that children often participate in different ways in rituals, sometimes on centre stage, in other cases as part of the audience or in the margins of ritual performances. If they have not been 'seen' in ritual studies in the past, it was not because they were simply not there. In fact, children are frequently around. The main reason for neglecting them probably is that they, because of their young age, were not considered as relevant to the core messages that rituals convey. If we, on the other hand, consider children as agents, they become more visible and their role can be assessed more properly. Questions have to be asked about the number of children present, their specific gendered and age-related roles, any changes therein, and how children as agents impact on rituals. One can then ask questions about the function of ritual in embodying in children culture, social stratification and gender. In case children are completely absent, one may wonder how rituals and the cultural messages embedded in them are transmitted to the following generations.

Secondly, the relevance of children may also be assessed by looking for (key)symbols featuring children or elements attributed to children. If these are present, questions have to be asked about what complex and shifting meanings are attached to them and how this becomes visible in the ritual.

Finally, several authors have noted the importance of looking at 'changing continuities' (Sutton 2004: 96; Parkin 1992: 19). It seems to us that this is also true for the study of the different meanings of children according to both age and gender in ritual. In order to better understand this process of continuity and change, we suggest it is important to conduct fieldwork in the same places over long periods of time and include children both in the problem and argument and as vital respondents. Children are the most important future agents of both continuity and change. Moreover, adults use them both for the purpose of ritual continuity and for introducing changes in the form of the ritual.

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<sup>1</sup> *Semana Santa de Antequera. Año de 2006, 2007, 2008*. DVD. Antequera: El Sol de Antequera

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.antequeravirtual.com/datos\\_geograficos.htm](http://www.antequeravirtual.com/datos_geograficos.htm). Accessed 26 November 2013.

<sup>3</sup> The full name of Socorro is 'La Sacramental, Pontificia, Real e Illustre Archicofradía de la Santa Vera Cruz en Jerusalén, Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno y Nuestra Señora del Socorro' and of Paz 'La Pontificia y Real Archicofradía del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús y Nuestra Señora de la Paz'.

<sup>4</sup> For impressions see <http://www.correrlavecapatrimonio.com/>. Accessed 12 August 2014.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5yEikm4wKiY>. Accessed 26 November 2013.

<sup>6</sup> <http://jesusamigodelosninos.blogspot.nl/>. Accessed 26 September 2013.

<sup>7</sup> [Http://tronoschicosantequera.blogspot.nl/](http://tronoschicosantequera.blogspot.nl/). Accessed 21 October 2013.

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- <sup>8</sup> See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFFI7HYe0u8> for the May 7th, 2011 children's procession and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WkTADvpeZRO> for the 2010 version. Accessed 12 August 2014.
- <sup>9</sup> [http://www.quandl.com/WORLDBANK-World-Bank/ESP\\_SP\\_DYN\\_TFRT\\_IN-Spain-Fertility-rate-total-births-per-woman](http://www.quandl.com/WORLDBANK-World-Bank/ESP_SP_DYN_TFRT_IN-Spain-Fertility-rate-total-births-per-woman) Accessed 17 May 2013.
- <sup>10</sup> *El Angelote*, 6 (2012) 34. (see also [www.elangelottedeantequera.com](http://www.elangelottedeantequera.com). Accessed 26 November 2013)
- <sup>11</sup> See Sherry Ortner (1973) for her paradigmatic essay on key symbols.
- <sup>12</sup> The performance of the little angel can be seen on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ft8L5VRy-WI>) Accessed 12 August 2014.
- <sup>13</sup> Statues of Infant Jesus were popular objects of devotion throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. Spaniards took the image to Bohemia, where it became known as the Infant of Prague, and to Mexico where it was also called *El Niño Perdido*, 'The Lost Child'.
- <sup>14</sup> The missionary Richardson (1974) found in the Peace Child in the mythology of the Sawi people in Irian Jaya/West Papua a welcome analogy to the Child Jesus to expand his conversion work.
- <sup>15</sup> Compare the role of tricksters and ritual clowns in tribal religions across the globe (Driessen 2015).
- <sup>16</sup> For a glimpse of this jostling in 2010 see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-kgDWNQr-E> .